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BALTIMORE WOMEN WAR WORKERS

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U S Dept of Labor Women's Bureau
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1. PURPOSE, METHOD, AND SCOPE OF STUDY

WHY THE STUDY WAS MADE

With the return to peacetime production after the end of the war, an immediately important question facing the Women's Bureau was: What has happened to women war workers -- the thousands of women who made the country's labor force great enough to meet the huge production demands of total mobilization? The Women's Bureau explored this question by a resurvey during the fall of 1946 of a group of former women war workers in Baltimore who had been interviewed in the fall of 1944.

From among the 10 war industry areas, located throughout the United States, in which the Women's Bureau had interviewed groups of women workers in 1944 and 1945, Baltimore was chosen for a resurvey in 1946 for two reasons:

(1) That area had experienced during the war a great employment expansion, concentrated in three important industries: Aircraft, shipbuilding, and electrical products. Increased employment of women had been a major factor in making such expansion possible. Furthermore, at the end of the war, lay-offs were drastic. The choice of Baltimore made it possible to explore the postwar employment problems of women employed in three of the major war industries; other areas would have furnished information in relation to only one or two industries.

(2) Baltimore is normally a city of diversified women-employing manufacturing industries. Thus a comparison of work in war industry plants with peacetime work in various consumer-goods and trade and service industries was obtainable from the women who had found postwar jobs.

It was also known from the Bureau's wartime study of women workers in Baltimore that many more planned to work in Baltimore in the postwar period than had been employed before the war. In 1944 at least half again as many were employed in Baltimore as in 1940. (Manufacturing plants employed three times as many as in 1940.) A large majority (76 percent) of those employed in 1944 were looking forward to postwar employment in this area, preferably in the same industrial and occupational groups of jobs as their wartime jobs. Nearly one-third of all women employed in 1944 were wartime in-migrant workers; a great many of these, as well as of the new recruits in war plants (women who had not been in the labor force before their war jobs) were planning to continue working in the area after the war ended.

A majority of the women interviewed were planning to continue working because of economic necessity; many had others dependent upon them for support; some were the sole wage earners in their families; almost without exception, those living with their families were contributing a considerable amount of their earnings to the current expenses of the household. (See Tables 3 and 4.) Such economic responsibilities made it urgent for these women to find jobs adequate to their needs after lay-offs from the war plants.

From this 1946 survey the Bureau sought to find out, not only whether the women who wanted employment had jobs, but also what had been the effect, in the face of rising living costs, of the shortened workweek, loss of premium overtime, and lower pay rates of peacetime industries.

HOW THE STUDY WAS MADE

The women interviewed in the fall of 1946 were limited to those who had been employed in war industry plants in October 1944. Of the 2,453 women interviewed in Baltimore in 1944, 699 were employed at that time in the war industries: Aircraft, shipbuilding, electrical equipment, iron and steel products, chemicals. Three hundred of the 699 women were located and interviewed in 1946. Of the remaining 399, 80 percent of whom were wartime in-migrant workers, 214 were known to have left the city, 54 were thought to be in Baltimore but could not be located, and on 131 no information could be obtained. It is very probable that the majority of these 131 workers had left the city.

Addresses were secured for 134 women who could not be reached for interviews and mail questionnaires were sent to them. These questionnaires were designed, not to give the complete information that was obtained from personal interviews, but only to show current employment status and marital status and to give a brief account of jobs held since the individual left the war plant. About one-fourth of these mail questionnaires were returned with information.

Data secured from the interview with individual women were:

(1) An employment history covering all periods of employment and unemployment of one week or more, for the two years which had intervened since the first contact.

(2) Job preferences and usual prewar job.

(3) Information on economic responsibility, living arrangements, and personal characteristics of the interviewees.

(4) Changes in job content since the war period.

(5) Experiences in finding work after separation from war plants.

By comparing these data with data secured in 1944, information was secured on the changes that had taken place in economic responsibilities, in marital status, and in employment plans.

The original group of 699 women who worked in war plants in 1944 and the 300 women covered by the resurvey were compared as to age, race, and marital status in 1944. The workers resurveyed were found to be representative of the original group in these three respects, except that the group located in 1946 contained a somewhat larger proportion of Negro women than the total group interviewed in 1944. However, in both years Negroes formed a small proportion of the total groups, 11 percent and 17 percent, respectively.

On the other hand, the information secured for the 300 women is not to be taken as representative of all working women in Baltimore, either in 1946 or at the time of the war. It serves only to point out what has been the postwar experience and what are the problems of that section of Baltimore women workers who were employed in the major war industry plants.

To get the employer's viewpoint of the outlook for peacetime employment of women in Baltimore, personnel officials of eight firms, which employ substantial numbers of women and which represent industries where considerable numbers of women could be expected to find peacetime employment, were interviewed. Such information, again, is not to be taken as a representative crosssection of all employers in Baltimore, but is useful in indicating the changes in these plants in the employment of women and, to some extent, the changes in the nature of women's jobs after reconversion took place.

THE AREA STUDIED

The importance of women as workers in Baltimore is evident in that, even before the war, the proportion of women workers to all employed persons was higher for Baltimore than for the country as a whole. In 1940, when 25 percent of all employed persons in the United States were women, the proportion in the Baltimore area was 29 percent; during the war this proportion rose to 34 percent for the entire country and to 38 percent for Baltimore.

Wartime employment gains were accomplished largely through in-migration and the greatly increased use of women in manufacturing. The total number of employed women workers swelled from approximately 120,000 in 1940 to about 185,000 in 1944. The employment in the war industry plants accounted for most of this increase; the number in manufacturing tripled, and two-thirds of those in manu-

facturing were in war plants. The number of women employed in the three major war industries - shipbuilding, aircraft, and machinery (electrical and non-electrical) - rose from 1,200 to 36,200. In 1944 two-fifths of all employed women were in manufacturing (a larger proportion than were in any other industrial group), as compared to one-fifth in 1940. Large numbers of women shifted from the consumer goods plants - apparel, textiles, food-processing - to aircraft, shipbuilding, and the other war industries. Before the war, aircraft and shipbuilding barred their doors virtually to all women except those who worked in a clerical capacity. However, during the peak of production, one large aircraft plant alone reported that it employed over 20,000 women, well over half as many as were employed in all manufacturing plants in 1940.

Since VJ-day many women in Baltimore have withdrawn from the labor force, and many displaced women have shifted from war industries back to "women's" peacetime manufacturing industries and to trade and service. A recent Census report shows that in Baltimore, despite these changes, women as a whole have made many gains in employment since 1940.

During the 7-year period between March 1940 and April 1947 1/ the number of women in the population of the Baltimore Metropolitan Area increased by 27 percent from 423,000 to 538,000; the number in the labor force, by 44 percent, from 132,000 to about 190,000; the number employed, by 49 percent, from 120,000 to 178,000. Women comprised 32 percent of the total employment in 1947, as compared to 29 percent in 1940. In April 1947 unemployment was estimated at 11,600, or 800 less than the number reported for March 1940.

Employment in manufacturing increased for both men and women between 1940 and 1947. Thus, although the estimated number of employed women in 1947 - 37,000 - is 42 percent greater than the 26,000 employed in 1940, the proportion that women formed of the total employees in manufacturing remained fairly constant - 20 percent in 1940 and 21 percent in 1947.

The greatest numerical and relative increase for women workers took place in the wholesale and retail trade industry: from 24,000 (30 percent of all in this occupational group), in 1940, to 44,000 (37 percent) in 1947. The service industries showed an increase of 19,000 workers, or one-third more workers than in 1940.

1/ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports, Series P-51, No. 28, August 1947.

The accompanying summary shows the distribution of women's employment in the major industry groups, 1940 and 1947, in the Metropolitan Baltimore Area.

	1940 Percent distribution	1947 Percent distribution
Total women employed	100	100
Manufacturing	22	21
Wholesale and retail trade	20	25
Service industries	49	43
Other 1/	9	11

1/ Includes construction, transportation, communication, and other public utilities; all other industries; and industries not reported.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN WORKERS INTERVIEWED IN 1946

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Information was obtained from the 300 women interviewed in the fall of 1946 on various personal characteristics influential in securing jobs, and on marital status, which is of special interest in relation to women workers' economic family responsibilities.

Race: More than four-fifths were white women. The rest (17 percent) were Negroes.

Age: They were a young group. Over one-half of the women (57 percent) were in their twenties, and 5 percent were under twenty. About 30 percent were in their thirties; only 9 percent were forty years old or over.

Marital status: Over half the women interviewed were married; over a third were single. The remaining women were separated (4 percent), widowed (3 percent), or divorced (6 percent).

Working experience: Three-fifths of the women had employment experience of 5 years or more, including the time spent working during the 2-year period studied; the remaining two-fifths, who had entered the labor market during the war period, had worked less than 5 years.

Education: Almost three-fifths (58 percent) of the women interviewed had attended high school; about a fourth were high school graduates. Slightly more than one-fifth (22 percent) had finished grammar school, and 15 percent had left school before reaching eighth grade. Only 4 percent had attended college or university.

In-migration: Sixty percent of the 699 women interviewed in 1944 were wartime in-migrant workers (75 percent of the women employed in the shipyards, 63 percent of those in the aircraft plants, and 41 percent of those in the electrical plants), and only 40 percent were prewar Baltimore residents. In 1946 only 23 percent of the in-migrants could be located as compared to 71 percent of the prewar Baltimore residents. Hence only about one-third of the 300 women interviewed in 1946 were wartime in-migrants; the remaining two-thirds had lived in Baltimore before Pearl Harbor.

The percent distribution, by personal characteristics, of the women interviewed in 1946 is as follows:

Race	Percent distribution	Total time worked	Percent distribution
White	83	Less than 5 years	40
Negro	17	5 years or more	60
Age		**Education** (last grade attended)	
Under 20	5	Less than 8th grade	15
20, under 25	32	8th grade	22
25, under 30	25	High school	
30, under 35	18	Less than 4 years	31
35, under 40	11	4 years	27
40, under 45	4	College	4
45 and over	5	No report on education	1
Marital status		**In-migration**	
Single	35	Living in Baltimore week before Pearl Harbor	69
Married	52	Living elsewhere week before Pearl Harbor	31
Widowed, separated, divorced	13		

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

All 300 women had been employed in war industry plants when interviewed in the fall of 1944. Two years later, over a year after VJ-day, some of these women had withdrawn from the labor force, and others had shifted to new jobs. It can be said, however, that a relatively small part of this group of Baltimore women were only "duration workers," as three-fourths were working or seeking work when revisited in 1946. At that time, furthermore, 92 percent of those then in the labor force had no immediate plans for stopping work.

Of the women who had been in the labor force before Pearl Harbor, about three-fourths were still in the labor force in 1946. Of those who had not worked before the war, 71 percent were in the labor force in 1946.

Employed Women

Almost two-thirds of the 300 women were employed at the time of the 1946 interviews. (See Table 1.) Of these, somewhat less than half (45 percent) were working for the same employer for whom they had worked in 1944; some had had continuous

employment, and others had been recalled after a period of unemployment or of working elsewhere. The majority of the women who were working for the same employer in 1946 as in 1944 were employed in electrical equipment and aircraft plants. Almost half the women who had been employed in electrical plants in 1944 and one-fifth of those employed in aircraft plants in 1944 were working in the same plants in 1946.

TABLE 1. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED IN 1946

Employment status, 1946	Number of women	Percent distribution
All women	300	100
Employed	191	64
By same employer as in 1944	85	28
Never separated; continuous employment since 1944	63	21
Recalled subsequent to separation and still employed, fall of 1946	22	7
By different employer than in 1944	105	35
Self-employed	1	(1/)
Unemployed and seeking work	31	10
Out of the labor force	78	26
Engaged in own home housework	68	23
Other	10	3

1/ Less than one-half of 1 percent.

Women Unemployed, Seeking Work

Ten percent of the women interviewed and 14 percent of those in the labor force were hunting jobs, as compared with only 3 percent of men and women unemployed in the country as a whole. Examination of the employment histories of these women indicates that finding a job presented real difficulties for them, owing perhaps to age, race, or lack of experience on jobs available.

Women Not in the Labor Force

About one-fourth of the women interviewed were out of the labor force. Almost all of these -- 90 percent -- were married; others were widowed or divorced women with children under 14 years of age. As might be expected, the bulk of the women who left the labor force had done so because of family responsibilities: to keep house, to get married, to have children, to care for children.

The rate of withdrawal from the labor force was nearly twice as great among the white as among the Negro women. It is probable that a larger proportion of women who were not located had left the labor market than among the 300 women who were interviewed. This was indicated by the replies received from the small group of women to whom the questionnaires were mailed. Nearly all who had left the labor market were married women devoting their full time to their family responsibilities.

3. 1946 EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC POSITION, MARITAL STATUS, FAMILY OBLIGATIONS, AND PERSONAL OBJECTIVES

REASONS FOR WORKING

During the war, in order to meet production demands, an active, Nation-wide campaign had been undertaken to bring women into employment. It was then a matter of significant interest to ascertain the extent to which the women workers, whose numbers had greatly increased, had responded to patriotic appeal; the extent to which they had been lured by enlarged job and economic opportunities; the extent of increased responsibility, both among new and former workers, for self and family support; the relationship of job to home responsibilities.

Though hostilities have ended, the economic, social, and other factors that motivate women to work, are still a matter of public concern. To obtain factual data on these motivations in the postwar period, and on how the war workers adjusted to the postwar period, information was sought from the Baltimore women.

Table 2 shows clearly that a great majority of the 222 women in the labor force who were interviewed in the fall of 1946 were working or seeking work because of economic necessity.

TABLE 2. MARITAL STATUS AND REASONS FOR WORKING OF WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE INTERVIEWED IN 1946

Reason for working	Percent distribution			
	Total	Single	Married	Widowed, separated, or divorced
Women in the labor force	100	100	100	100
Full support of self	30	58	-	23
Full support of self and contribute regularly to support of others	33	41	7	74
To share family expenses; pool family income	26	-	66	-
Special economic reasons 1/	8	1	20	3
Reasons not primarily economic 2/	3	-	7	-

1/ Such as: "to buy a home," "to buy furniture," "to educate children," "to pay debts," etc.

2/ Such as: "like to work," "like having my own money," "like using my skills."

Only 3 percent of these women gave noneconomic reasons for working, and 89 percent were using their earnings for current living expenses of themselves, and, in many cases, of others. The others (8 percent)were working to meet special economic needs. There is evidence of particularly heavy economic burdens among the group of women-- one-third of those in the labor force -- who contributed regularly to the support of others, in addition to fully supporting themselves, and among the women - one-fourth of those in the labor force - who shared family expenses by pooling their incomes with other wage earners in the family.

As had been found in previous Women's Bureau studies, distinct variations among the reported reasons for working accompanied variations in marital status.

—While 99 percent of the single women worked to support themselves, a substantial number of these, in addition to paying all their own expenses, contributed regularly to the support of others. Forty percent of all the single girls were in this latter group.

—Over two-thirds of the married women reported that they pooled their incomes with the money earned by another wage earner in the family in order to meet family expenses. Seven percent, in addition to supporting themselves entirely, contributed regularly to the support of dependents. A fifth were working for some special economic reason. Less than 10 percent were working for reasons not primarily economic.

—Financial responsibility was heaviest among widowed, separated, and divorced women. Practically all were dependent on their own resources for self support, and nearly three-fourths contributed regularly to the support of others besides supporting themselves entirely.

Almost all of the group who were working for special economic reasons were married women. They reported that they used their money to make payments on a home or furniture, to pay debts, to educate children -- such things as would have to be foregone unless the wife worked to pay for them.

CHANGES IN MARITAL STATUS DURING THE 2-YEAR PERIOD

Changes in marital status naturally occurred in this group of women over the 2-year period; fiances returned from war, husbands died, and separations or divorces took place.

In 1944, at which time all the women were employed, single women made up 47 percent of the total, the married 42 percent, and the widowed, separated, or divorced, 11 percent.

During the 2-year period, a little over one-fifth of the women changed their marital status: 15 percent married, and 7 percent lost their husbands either through death, separation, or divorce. However, as 90 percent of the women who in 1946 had left the labor market were married, the proportion in each marital group was approximately the same for those remaining in the labor market in 1946 as for those employed in 1944:

	Employed in 1944	Remaining in labor market in 1946
	Percent distribution	Percent distribution
Total women	100	100
Single	47	46
Married	42	39
Other	11	15

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS IN 1944 AND IN 1946

The large majority of the Baltimore women covered by the follow-up study were living in households with one or more members of their families. This was true in 1944 when the women were contacted during war plant employment, and again in 1946 when they were revisited. Changes from living with relatives to living apart or vice versa affected only 8 percent of the women over the 2-year period. However, these changes had apparently balanced each other, because, for the group as a whole, living arrangements and size of families of the 300 women were much the same in 1946 as they had been in 1944. In both periods nine of every ten women were living in family households, and nearly 50 percent of the women were in families of four or more persons; less than 10 percent were living apart from relatives.

Individual changes in family relationship and in the size of the family household did occur, however, largely owing to changes in marital status and to the readjustment of families to peacetime living arrangements after the demobilization of the armed forces. In some instances changes were substantial, involving the addition to or withdrawal from the family of three, four, or more persons.

The information on changes in the total number of members of the family group does not, however, indicate changes in family composition nor does it take account of changes in relationship between individual women and the relatives with whom they live. Such specific changes within the individual groups are sometimes reflected in the economic responsibilities of the workers; increased or lessened financial burden can, in some instances, be traced to changes in the composition of the family, as for example, in the family of Mrs. H:

During the war, Mrs. H lived with her mother and sister, as her husband was in the armed forces. The two sisters worked, and each contributed regularly a substantial proportion of her weekly earnings to the support of their mother and the upkeep of the household. At that time Mrs. H was looking forward to stopping work when her husband returned from the service. However, her plans did not materialize. When interviewed in 1946, Mrs. H said she had separated from her husband, her sister had married and had her own home, her brother had returned from service too nervous to work, and Mrs. H carried the whole financial burden of the changed household.

WOMEN AS WAGE EARNERS IN THE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

The importance of women as family wage earners was shown by the fact that more than 90 percent of women working in 1946 were living with some family member, and nearly all of these (93 percent) were contributing regularly to the family expenses. The largest proportion of the working women living in family households, 45 percent, were one of two wage earners, and a third were one of three or more wage earners who contributed to the household expenses. Heaviest responsibility, however, was upon the 15 percent who were the sole wage earners in their households; on them fell the entire responsibility of feeding, clothing, and housing the members of their families.

TABLE 3. MARITAL STATUS OF EMPLOYED WOMEN, INTERVIEWED IN 1946, LIVING IN THE FAMILY HOUSEHOLD, AND THEIR POSITION AS WAGE EARNERS CONTRIBUTING TO FAMILY EXPENSES

Position as wage earner in family household	Percent distribution		
	All women 1/	Single	Married
All women	100	100	100
Sole contributing wage earner	15	11	9
One of two contributing wage earners	45	44	55
One of three or more contributing wage earners	33	44	24
Not a contributing wage earner	7	1	12

1/ Includes widowed, separated, and divorced women, whose number is too small to be shown separately.

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1/ Includes widowed, separated, and divorced women, whose number is too small to be shown separately.

Marital status again was an important determinant of economic responsibility of working women living in family groups, as it is for all women workers. Widowed and divorced women and women separated from their husbands carried heavier financial burdens than did women of other marital status: 44 percent of them were the sole wage earners in the household. Over half the married women were one of two wage earners. Of the single women, 44 percent were one of two contributors, and 44 percent were one of three or more contributors. Moreover, there were about a tenth of the single women who were the sole wage earners in their families.

TABLE 4. MARITAL STATUS OF EMPLOYED WOMEN, INTERVIEWED IN 1946, LIVING IN THE FAMILY HOUSEHOLD, AND THEIR REASONS FOR WORKING

Reasons for working	Percent distribution		
	All women 1/	Single	Married
All women	100	100	100
Full support of self	29	55	-
Full support of self and contribute regularly to support of others	35	45	8
To share family expenses; pool family income	26	-	68
Special economic reasons	6	-	15
Reasons not primarily economic	4	-	9

1/ Includes widowed, separated, and divorced women, whose number is too small to be shown separately.

CHANGED PATTERNS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO FAMILY SUPPORT SINCE 1944

A comparison follows of the contributions made in 1944 and in 1946 to current family expenses by employed women living in family households. Approximately 90 percent of the employed women were living as members of family groups both periods.

--Both in 1944 and 1946 the great majority of those interviewed -- 97 percent and 94 percent, respectively --were contributing regularly to family expenses.

--In 1944 over half and in 1946 two-thirds of the non-contributing women were married women.

--A marked difference between 1944 and 1946 is the increased proportion of women in 1946 who were contributing all of their earnings to a family group. In 1944 less than one-third of the women gave all they earned toward running the household; in 1946

almost half gave the full amount of their earnings to the family kitty. This increase in family contributions was not limited to any one group of women. In 1946 a much larger proportion than in 1944 of both the married and the single women turned in all their earnings to the household expenses (the married in 1946, 68 percent, in 1944, 39 percent; the single in 1946, 25 percent, in 1944, 19 percent).

The following factors should be remembered in interpreting these increased contributions: (1) The double impact of lower earnings and higher living costs in 1946 necessitated larger contributions than in 1944 from individual women workers to the household funds to meet living expenses, and hence larger proportions of their earnings. (2) The composition of the groups are not entirely the same for the two years. Not all the women who were employed in 1944 were working in 1946, some changes in marital status had taken place, and the return of husbands from the service had altered family compositions. Therefore, financial needs of the two groups differ.

Mrs. K's experience was similar to that of many women workers:

> Mrs. K, a young married woman with a 12-year old child, worked before the war as a waitress. During the war she had a job as an assembler in the radio division of an electrical plant. In 1944 she looked forward to stopping work when her war job ended and devoting full time to her family. In the 1946 interview it was found she had left the war plant in 1945, stayed home for 11 months, and then went back to work. Her comment was, "I must continue to work and make ends meet due to the rise in the cost of living." During the war she "took home" in her pay envelope $31.00 and contributed half to household expenses, in 1946, $22.50 and turned all in for current expenses.

DEGREE OF SUCCESS IN CARRYING OUT POSTWAR PLANS MADE IN 1944

Women interviewed in 1944 were questioned as to their postwar employment plans. On the return visits in 1946, it was found that for about 75 percent of the women their plans had materialized. (It should be remembered that the resurvey was made in the fall of 1946 and not in the period immediately following VJ-day).

About three-fourths of the 300 women who were located for a follow-up interview had said in 1944 that they expected to continue working in this area after the war. Four out of five of those with such intentions were able to realize them. Marriage, pregnancy, care of children, home duties, or illness of self or family had prevented the remaining women from carrying out their

intentions, and they were no longer in the labor force at the time of the 1946 interview.

The change in Mrs. B's 1944 plans was typical in many respects of the group which had withdrawn from the labor force:

> Mrs. B had been a textile worker in North Carolina before the war. In 1943 she and her husband came to Baltimore where she secured a job as a mechanic's helper in a radio plant. She left her son in North Carolina with his grandparents and sent money weekly for his board so that he could finish high school and graduate with his class. When interviewed in 1944, Mrs. B planned to keep on working after the war. She was planning to work until she saved enough money to buy a home in North Carolina. However, on the revisit in 1946, it was found she had been laid off from her job in November 1945 and had not tried to find other work. The family had stayed on in Baltimore and her son, who had joined them, was working and contributing to the household expenses. Thus, contrary to her 1944 plans, she was still living in Baltimore and was out of the labor force and at home keeping house for her family.

Of the small proportion of women (23 percent) who planned to give up work after their war jobs ended, one-half were unable to do so. This group was made up of the young war workers whose plans for marriage after the war did not materialize, the married women who felt the need for "helping out" owing to the increased cost of living, and the women separated, widowed, or divorced during the 2-year period who now had to depend on their own resources for support of self and often of children also.

Mrs. M was one of the married women who felt the need of "helping out":

> Mrs. M, 37 years old, living at home with her husband and two small daughters, worked as a sheet metal helper in an aircraft plant during the war. She earned $40 a week and pooled her earnings with her husband's to meet the family expenses. She left the plant before VJ-day, intending to devote her full time to her family. However, some months later she found it necessary again to secure a job in order to share the increasing household expenses. She found work in a factory making men's hats and earned $29 a week, all of which she contributed to the family upkeep. She commented on the high cost of living and on the necessity that both husband and wife work in order to meet expenses.

Responses from two women to the mail questionnaires showed a decided contrast in their experiences after going home at the close of the war.

> Mrs. X, 37 years old, came to Baltimore during the war from a small rural community in North Carolina and worked as a sheet metal worker in an aircraft plant for 90 cents an hour. Her husband and four children came with her. Her husband also found work. In 1944 she was making plans to return home after the war and to continue working. However, a letter received from her in 1946 said, "I left my war plant job in March 1945. We owned property before going to Baltimore. Since we came back, we purchased more and have been living on the farm, educating our children. Raised 12 hundred chickens and numerous other things that belong to the land of the South."

> Mrs. Y's experience was not a success story. She, too, was married and came to Baltimore from a small town in Virginia. Her husband and four children came with her, and four in the family secured work in Baltimore. Mrs. Y earned $45 a week as a painter in a shipyard and also had two boarders, who brought in an additional $20 per week. In 1944 her plans were to go home after the war and buy a farm with the money they had saved. However, in 1946 she wrote, "I wish I had stayed in Baltimore. I am doing housework at 50 cents an hour - everything from cleaning windows to painting porches, bath rooms, etc. - as there is no work here suitable for me. None of my plans have worked out, and at the present there are no hopes. My husband is sick. We have all our money invested in an unfinished house, and unless I leave here to work, there isn't much hope of finishing it."

4. OVER-ALL ACCOUNTING OF THE TWO-YEAR PERIOD

Information was secured from the workers, not only in their current (1946) employment status, but also on their experience over the 2-year period, October 1944 through the fall of 1946. This period covers approximately the last year of the war, at the end of which drastic lay-offs took place, and the year following, during which industry was converting to a peacetime basis. Thus the study gives a first-hand accounting of the adjustments made by one group of war workers from a war to peacetime economy.

Only 55 percent of the 300 women interviewed were in the labor force (working or seeking work) during the entire two years covered by the study, but 90 percent were in the labor force some part of the 2-year period following the end of their war employment.

Undoubtedly financial necessity was an influencing factor in keeping women in the labor force after separating from the war plants, for among the women who spent the entire two years working or seeking work, the proportion was greater of those entirely dependent on their own efforts for self support than of those who pooled their income with other family wage earners.

The high percentage (80) of the single women, compared to the 40 percent of married women, who remained in the labor force the whole period may also reflect the fact that almost all single women were dependent entirely on their own resources for support and consequently had to seek other jobs immediately on separation from a plant.

SEPARATIONS FROM WAR PLANTS

That the end of the war would bring substantial numbers of lay-offs was expected. In the weeks immediately following the Japanese surrender, huge reductions in force took place in Baltimore, chiefly in aircraft and shipbuilding. At the large aircraft plant which, at the peak of war production employed some 20,000 women, reductions-in-force reduced the number of women workers to 2,500. Shipbuilding plants reported that of thousands of women who had been employed during the war, all but a few clerical workers were let out from the yards immediately following VJ-day.

Unemployment compensation claims multiplied. Displaced women war workers represented half of the unemployed in Baltimore 2 months after VJ-day.

In electrical equipment industries cuts were not quite so severe: one plant reduced its total of women workers from 2,900 to 1,900; another cut down its total from 1,400 women to 500. Moreover, electrical equipment plants and one aircraft plant, in contrast to shipbuilding, recalled some of their experienced workers after peacetime contracts were secured and postwar production schedules set up.

While VJ-day lay-offs accounted for more separations from the war plants than did any other one type of separation, it is well to consider them within the framework of all the separations.

Time of Separations From War Plants

The drastic lay-offs in late August and September 1945, immediately following VJ-day, affected only one-third (34 percent) of the 300 women included in the follow-up study. Nearly the same proportion (30 percent) of the workers had separated from war plants previous to that time. A small group (15 percent) left the plants during months following the early post VJ-day lay-offs; and 21 percent did not separate from their wartime employment during the 2-year period.

Of the women who separated before VJ-day, nearly one-third left the labor force and were still in that status in the fall of 1946. A small group secured jobs in other war plants, from which they were laid off immediately following VJ-day. The remainder, over one-half, did not return to the labor force until after VJ-day.

Reasons for Separations From War Plants

Separations from war plants were of two types: lay-offs and discharges ordered by the employer, and quits initiated by the employee. Lay-offs and discharges accounted for over half of all the separations, and quits for the remainder. The large majority (69 percent) of the women who quit of their own volition did so before VJ-day, and the mass lay-offs (69 percent of total lay-offs and discharges) took place around VJ-day.

Almost all the lay- offs were ordered as part of a program of reductions in force necessitated by cancellation of war contracts and general curtailment of production; less than a tenth of the lay-offs and discharges were known to be discharges for reasons other than reduction in force.

Quits were for numerous reasons. Women quit more often for personal reasons than for reasons directly related to the job. The reason given for two-thirds of the quits was personal. Pregnancy, and illness of the worker or of a member of her family were the most common personal reasons for quitting. Also mentioned,

however, were home duties, difficulty in having children cared for when mother was at work, to get married, to join a husband in service, to go back to housekeeping after the husband returned from service, to take a job that would continue after the war ended. Among workers who quit the plant because of dissatisfaction connected with the job, the reasons for resigning included work that was too hard, too low pay, objection to night work, poor working conditions, transportation difficulties, dissatisfaction with the work itself.

OCCUPATIONS AFTER SEPARATIONS FROM WAR PLANTS

As indicated above, about four-fifths (79 percent) of the women interviewed experienced separation from their wartime place of employment. These 79 percent may be divided among those who had no jobs after separation and those who did:

24 percent of all women interviewed had no jobs after separation from their 1944 employer:

- 11 percent left the labor force immediately after separation from war plant.
- 7 percent, after hunting suitable jobs for a period and finding none, withdrew from the labor force.
- 6 percent had had no work after leaving war plants, and were hunting jobs at time of the 1946 interview.

55 percent of all the women interviewed had jobs after separation from their 1944 employer:

- 7 percent shifted immediately to other plants and had no periods of unemployment.
- 12 percent took a vacation and, when available for work, experienced no period of unemployment, but found a job at once.
- 5 percent after a period of unemployment, having held no other job, were recalled to their war plant.
- 33 percent experienced a period of seeking work and eventually secured a new job.

Women Who Had No Jobs After Separation

Immediate withdrawals from the labor force. - The group of women (11 percent of the total interviewed), who withdrew from the labor force immediately after leaving their war plant jobs, was made up almost wholly of married women. When interviewed in 1944 they had been single women or married women whose husbands were in the armed forces.

The majority left the war plants of their own volition before VJ-day; only a few stayed until they were laid off. Personal reasons -- pregnancy, marriage, home duties, illness of self or others -- accounted for almost all the resignations. The few who were laid off were married and made no effort to find work in other plants.

Withdrawals from the labor force after a period of seeking work. - The women for whom withdrawal from the labor force was postponed by a period of job-hunting were, like those who dropped out immediately after leaving the war plant, almost all married women. The noticeable difference in the two groups of women is found in the reason for leaving the war plants. The majority of those who withdrew from the labor force had left their jobs voluntarily. The majority of this second group were laid off in the months immediately following VJ-day when substantial reductions in force took place, and they stayed on in the labor force as job-seekers for a time after dismissal.

Women who had had no jobs after leaving the war plant and were seeking work at the time of the 1946 interview. - Six percent of the women interviewed in 1946 had had no work since leaving the war plants but were, even so, seeking work. This group is important, not because of its size, but because in the women's records is evidence of severe difficulty in finding work. Personal reasons (marriage, illness, pregnancy) or lay-offs had forced them to leave war plants. Their efforts to relocate in work adequate to their needs met with failure, in spite of long periods of seeking work. Almost all had been job hunting for 6 months or more, and over half had been actively seeking work for over a year.

Women Who Had Jobs After Separation

Of this group of women, about one-third had no difficulty in finding jobs when they were available for work. A few others took no job until recalled by their wartime employer. The rest had varying periods of unemployment before securing new jobs. When visited in 1946, the large majority (78 percent) were working, 8 percent were again out of work, and 14 percent had left the labor force.

Table 5 summarizes the experience of the 300 women interviewed in holding and obtaining jobs during the two-year period 1944-1946, and presents their employment status at the time of the interview in 1946.

TABLE 5. TWO-YEAR HISTORY OF JOBS AND 1946 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED IN 1946

Employment history over the two-year period	Percent distribution				
	Total	In labor force, fall of 1946			Had left labor force by fall of 1946
		Total	Employed	Seeking work	
All women	100	100	100	100	100
No job after separation from 1944 employment	24	8	-	55	71
Employed after separation from 1944 employment	55	64	67	45	29
1 job 1/	29	31	30	32	22
2 jobs	19	25	28	7	5
3 and 4 jobs	7	8	9	6	2
Did not separate from 1944 employment	21	28	33	-	-

1/ Includes 15 women (5 percent of total number interviewed) who were separated from war plant, were subsequently recalled, and had had no intervening employment.

About half the women included in the study had worked only in the plant in which they were employed in October 1944. They were: (1) those who had never separated from the plant and were still employed there in 1946; (2) those who separated, were unemployed for a period, and then were recalled to work in the same plants; and (3) those who separated and found no other job during the period studied.

Among the other half of the women - those who found work in other plants after leaving the 1944 war plants - the most common experience was to have worked in one other job. A substantial number, however, had held two additional jobs, and, a few (7 percent of all women) had held three or four jobs subsequent to the war plant jobs.

TABLE 6. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY OVER THE 2-YEAR PERIOD AS RELATED TO THE WAR JOB OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED IN 1946

Employment history over the two-year period	Total		Number of women with wartime employment in:			
	Number	Percent	Aircraft	Shipbuilding	Electrical	Other
All women	300	100	133	40	85	42
Women who were employed in 1944 plant only during two-year period	149	50	51	14	59	25
Never separated	63	21	10	2	37	14
Separated and recalled with no other employment	14	5	10	-	4	-
Separated and no subsequent jobs	72	24	31	12	18	11
Women having jobs with other employers after separation from war plant	151	50	82	26	26	17
1 job	72	24	36	13	15	8
2 jobs 1/	58	19	30	12	8	8
3 or 4 jobs 2/	21	7	16	1	3	1

1/ Includes 8 recalls, all aircraft.
2/ Includes 5 recalls, all aircraft.

5. UNEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

One of the most important questions asked of the displaced war workers was how much time was spent in seeking new employment - not only to secure the first postwar job, but also to get subsequent jobs.

UNEMPLOYMENT AFTER SEPARATION FROM THE WAR PLANT

Unemployment did not present a problem for half (51 percent) of the 300 women interviewed: the 21 percent who continued on peacetime production in the war plants; the 11 percent who gave up working after their war work ended; and the 19 percent who found another job (or jobs, if the first was not satisfactory) and lost no time between. Although not all in the latter group were employed the entire period, none of them, when available for and seeking work, had difficulty in finding jobs.

The other half of the 300 women interviewed reported a substantial amount of unemployment, but the difficulty for many seemed to be, not in simply getting hired, but in finding a suitable job. Some (5 percent of the 300) were unemployed only until recalled to their former war plants; some (7 percent) left the labor force when their unemployment compensation benefits were exhausted; the remainder (38 percent) spent substantial amounts of time in jobseeking - many as long as six months to one year.

Since all these women had come from extensive periods of employment in war plants that called for relatively high skills and gave relatively good wages and working conditions, many of the subsequent jobs offered them fell far short of being suitable. The great majority had worked on production jobs during the war as riveters, welders, machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors, and many wished to continue to use their wartime-acquired skills. Moreover, due to unemployment compensation credits accumulated during steady war work, the majority of the women were financially able to spend considerable time shopping around for jobs.

Particular difficulty in locating work is evidenced among older women and among Negro women. Women 40 years of age and over spent a much higher proportion of the time in the labor force seeking jobs than women under 40. Similarly, Negro women spent proportionately more time seeking work than did white women.

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The experience of one woman, who felt that her age was the cause of not finding work follows:

> An attractive, young-looking white woman, 38 years old, who had been a riveter in two aircraft companies during the war had difficulty in finding a job after she was laid off in August 1945. With her husband and six children, she had come from another State to join the horde of Baltimore's war workers. She and her husband were the only wage earners in the family. With this heavy economic responsibility, she felt it necessary to continue working to supplement her husband's earnings, but for 14 months after she lost her war job she was unable to find work. During this period she drew unemployment compensation for 4 months at $20.00 a week. USES told her several times, "No jobs for your age." She said many companies advertised for women workers not over 30 years of age. She and her daughter, 19, went together looking for work. It was easy for the daughter to find a job, but only matron's work was offered her. Finally, a radio corporation, where she applied "on her own," hired her as a bench worker. As a riveter on the war jobs she had earned $43.20 in a 45-hour week and $57.00 in a 48-hour week. She was happy, after her long search, to have the job as a bench worker. It was less physical strain than riveting. In addition, she had her preferred evening shift which best fitted into the household schedule; her husband or 15-year old son could be with the young children during her work hours.

UNEMPLOYMENT AT THE TIME OF THE 1946 INTERVIEWS

By the fall of 1946, 14 percent of the women in the labor force were unemployed and seeking work (as compared with only 3 percent of men and women unemployed in the country as a whole): 8 percent had had no jobs since their war jobs; 6 percent had had one or more jobs, but personal necessities or dissatisfaction with such work had caused them to leave these jobs and again seek other work.

Examination of the employment histories of the women who were unemployed in the fall of 1946 indicated that finding a job presented real difficulties for this group. The length of time they had been unemployed was substantial. For over one-half of them it amounted to more than 1 year; and for another one-fourth, 6 months to 1 year.

Almost all had been factory production workers during the war, a few had been clerical workers. Among the women who had left postwar jobs to seek better ones, over half had left positions in service or trade industries, the others had left manufacturing and government jobs. As noted above, there is indication that age or race may have been grounds for the difficulty some individuals experienced in finding adequate jobs.

LENGTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT PERIODS BETWEEN PEACETIME JOBS

Periods of unemployment were much shorter between two peacetime jobs than between the last war and the first peacetime job -- owing, perhaps, to the fact that, now, with limited or no unemployment compensation credits remaining, many women could not afford to hold out for the type of jobs they preferred.

Of the women who had two peacetime jobs, over 40 percent evidently found the second job before quitting the first, as they lost no time between jobs, and for 23 percent, time was lost between jobs due only to home duties or to reasons other than seeking work. Of those having three and four jobs, an even larger proportion went from job to job with no intervening periods of unemployment; they were chiefly women who left a given plant because of dissatisfaction with working conditions.

REASONS FOR INABILITY TO FIND SUITABLE WORK

To explain why women seeking work were unable to find suitable employment, each case must be considered on its own, since individual characteristics, abilities, and preferences are determining factors in ability to locate a job. One statement can be made, however, which is applicable to a majority of the women seeking work in the fall of 1946: they had had no prewar working experience, or the experience they had had was not appropriate to the kind of work they wanted after the war. A substantial number (29 percent) had not been employed before the war and could offer no working experience other than that they had in the war plants. Another part of the group (42 percent) had been in service industries before the war, but, after their war work experience, were unwilling, almost without exception, to return to their earlier occupations.

MEANS OF OBTAINING POSTWAR JOBS

Getting a job in the postwar period had proved a different proposition than finding work in war time. During the war any woman who wanted work could find a job by applying to any plant engaged in war production; sometimes she did not even have to go to the plant to apply but was approached by plant representatives carrying out extensive recruiting programs instituted to alleviate the manpower shortages.

Though recruiting ceased at the end of the war, direct application was still a common method of obtaining jobs. About half of the postwar jobs obtained resulted from work seekers' direct application at company offices. Less frequently jobs were obtained, particularly in stores, by answering newspaper ads and, particularly in hotels, restaurants, and household employment, through friends or relatives. Some jobs were secured in various industries through USES referrals.

Still another way of securing a job was described:

> R S was discharged from a shipyard after almost three years as a tool room attendant. She set out to find another job, got a tip from a taxicab driver on an opening in the bottling room of a local dairy, applied at the dairy, and got the job.

REASONS FOR LEAVING POSTWAR JOBS

A summary of the reasons why women left all the postwar jobs from which they were separated is as follows:

Reasons for leaving jobs	Percent of jobs	
Total separations	100	
Resignations.	86	
For personal reasons		48
For plant reasons.		38
Lay-offs and discharges	14	

A large majority of the women who left postwar jobs did so of their own volition; only 14 percent of all separations were lay-offs or discharges ordered by the employer. Resignations were more often for personal reasons (the women were needed at home, better jobs were available) than for some dissatisfaction with the job itself. Dissatisfaction included unsatisfactory working conditions, too low pay, production drive too great, dislike for shift to which assigned, work too hard, poor physical conditions in the plant. Some women gave up their jobs in stores, restaurants, and laundries because they "just didn't like the job."

EMPLOYERS' HIRING SPECIFICATIONS IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD

Recognizing that difficulty in meeting hiring specifications might explain the failure of some displaced war workers to find jobs over an extended period, Women's Bureau agents were led, in interviews with eight Baltimore firms, to inquire what was company hiring policy on the specific matters of age, experience, education, marital status, race. Hiring specifications reported, so far as they went, were indicative of the changes which had taken

place since the war period when manpower shortages and production demands led to a weakening, at least for the time being, of barriers in certain of the specific qualifications in question.

The minimum age for new women employees was 18 years in all plants. Policy on maximum age was not so restrictive in half of the plants: three of the eight -- manufacturers of aircraft frames and of apparel and a mail order house -- stated they had no policy for maximum hiring age; and one electrical equipment plant gave a maximum of 65 years. The other four, however, had distinct restrictions: An electrical equipment plant did not hire women for production jobs unless they were younger than 35 years. After that age, the firm said, "according to tests, their muscles stiffen," and they are not as efficient on production as are younger women. For matrons' jobs, however, this plant hired women 45 years of age. A plant manufacturing piston rings gave its top age limit as 40 years. A department store refused to hire women who were "too old," since they could not pass the rigid physical examination required by the store. A manufacturer of small metal parts said that "older women can't stand the pace," and went on to express a further preference for younger women when he said, "The younger ones don't generally have previous standards and therefore are not so critical or likely to complain." Age requirements for hiring were in general the same for men as for women, although officials of three plants reported that they were willing to hire men at a somewhat younger age than the minimum age for women.

Three of the firms interviewed (former war plants) reported that they required experience of new employees. An aircraft plant was hiring no inexperienced women because it could find enough experienced veterans to fill vacancies. Two other factories -- producing electrical equipment and closures -- hired inexperienced workers only when there were no experienced applicants; however, as former war workers were undoubtedly available for recall, there seemed to be little opportunity for the inexperienced worker.

An educational requirement was mentioned by only two plants. The mail order house was hiring no women who had not had some high school training and was gradually working toward a minimum requirement of high school graduation. One electrical plant required high school education for inspection jobs.

Discrimination against married women was indicated in one instance, that of an electrical equipment plant in which such discrimination had been prewar national policy. The plant reported that during the war, of necessity, married women were hired, but after VJ-day they were the first to be laid off, and none had been hired since.

The principle of racial equality in hiring made substantial gains in Baltimore during the war when many of the important employers, on recommendation of the War Manpower Commission, hired Negroes on production work for the first time. No plant contacted reported a policy specifically excluding Negroes. Only four -- all manufacturing plants -- reported a policy of hiring Negro women.

Other requirements for hiring reported were: physical examinations, required by seven of the eight firms, for both manufacturing and nonmanufacturing jobs; simple trade tests given applicants in an aircraft plant; and intelligence tests for some inspection jobs in an electrical equipment plant.

WOMEN'S APPRAISAL OF THEIR PROBLEMS IN FINDING JOBS

Some 50 women cited one or more factors which they felt had hindered them in finding work they were willing to accept.

Most often mentioned as factors in inability to find work were: (1) Lack of experience and/or skill, (2) failure to meet age requirements, and (3) few openings in jobs for which trained. Together, these three factors accounted for 44 percent of all the responses to the question on problems in finding work. Other factors cited were:

1. Racial discrimination. (All women reporting were Negroes.)
2. Available jobs undesirable.
3. Only day jobs available; must work nights.
4. Transportation difficulties.
5. Inadequate pay.
6. Only night jobs available; want day work.
7. Educational requirements.

EXTENT TO WHICH PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT WERE COVERED BY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFITS

Almost half the women interviewed (148) had had some period of unemployment. The extent to which Unemployment Compensation payments covered the time spent in job-hunting is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7. MONTHS WOMEN WERE UNEMPLOYED AND PROPORTION OF TIME UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION RECEIVED

Number of months unemployed and seeking work	Proportion of unemployed time for which compensation received					
	Total women	No compensation	Less than 25 percent	25, less than 50 percent	50, less than 75 percent	75 to 100 percent
Total women:						
Number	1/ 147	39	1.4	32	35	1/ 27
Percent	100	27	9	22	24	18
14 months and over	13	1	2	8	2	-
12, less than 14 months	18	3	3	7	2	3
10, less than 12 months	11	2	-	2	3	4
8, less than 10 months	23	2	1	2	10	8
6, less than 8 months	20	3	1	4	5	7
4, less than 6 months	13	5	2	2	3	1
2, less than 4 months	27	9	4	5	8	1
Less than 2 months	22	14	1	2	2	3

1/ Excludes 1 woman who did not report length of period of unemployment.

It is apparent that less than one-fifth of the women received unemployment compensation benefits during three-fourths or more of the period of their unemployment; less than one-fourth received benefits for one-half the time; and over one-fourth received no benefits at all. Payments of $20 a week, the maximum benefit allowed, was received by 95 percent of the 108 women who received compensation, on the basis of the high wages earned during the war period.

According to the Maryland State Unemployment Compensation Law, an individual who is involuntarily unemployed is eligible for Unemployment Compensation as long as her wage credits last, up to a maximum of 26 payments for each benefit year, providing she is available for work, registers regularly with USES, and does not refuse a suitable job offered to her by the Employment Service.

In almost half (47 percent) of the cases where reasons for discontinuation of payments were reported, the women had drawn all the benefits due them. Second most common reason was return to work, which accounted for 26 percent of the cases. Just less than a fifth (18 percent) of the women had unemployment compensation payments suspended when they refused jobs offered them. The remaining 9 percent had their unemployment compensation discontinued for miscellaneous reasons, including unavailability for work, failure to register with USES, leaving the city, illness.

6. INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION CHANGES

EMPLOYMENT BEFORE ENTERING WAR PLANTS

Baltimore, like every other war production area, drew heavily on her reserve labor supply in order to meet war production quotas. Over 40 percent of the women included in the study had never been employed before the war and had had no prewar work experience; three out of five having been housewives and nearly two out of five schoolgirls the week before Pearl Harbor.

The group of women currently employed in 1946 who had worked before the war had been in many types of industries in that prewar period. A third had been factory production workers, a fifth clerical workers in various industries, nearly two-fifths had worked at trade or service jobs, and the remaining group in miscellaneous other industries. As the apparel industry is the largest woman-employing manufacturing industry in Baltimore, it is not surprising that over two-fifths of those who had been factory production workers were clothing workers before the war. The other factory women were employed for the most part in other traditional woman-employing industries such as textile, electrical, and food.

Considering the higher wages offered in the war plants, compared to the wages paid for most jobs in the consumer-goods and service industries, and considering the better working conditions in most war plants, it is understandable that such industrial and occupational shifts should have taken place. The sewing machine operators, cuff turners, trimmers, and silk twisters of the apparel and textile industries, as well as the salesgirls in the retail stores, the restaurant waitresses, the hospital maids, the household employees, and other service workers, became the assemblers, riveters, testers and inspectors, welders, operators of metal-working machines, packers, and other workers in war plants.

However, while the women usually gainfully employed on production work in manufacturing, in hotels and restaurants, and as household employees and other service workers were shifting to new jobs in new industries, nine out of ten of the prewar clerical workers transferred to war plants and continued in clerical work in war plants despite the possibility of higher pay on factory jobs. Moreover, the women who went from manufacturing jobs or the service industries to clerical work were relatively few. Half of the women who shifted from work in stores chose production and half clerical work in war plants.

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH WOMEN WERE EMPLOYED IN 1944

The bulk of the women had held war jobs in October 1944 in the aircraft, electrical equipment, and shipbuilding industries -- 44 percent in aircraft, 28 percent in electrical equipment, and 14 percent in shipbuilding. Such a distribution was not unexpected, for these three were Baltimore's major war industries. The remaining women (14 percent) were engaged in the manufacture of iron and steel products, cans, or chemicals, or were in government installations that were engaged in manufacturing war materials. They were employed in many types of work: nearly two-thirds were on production jobs such as assembling, machine operation, testing and inspecting, riveting, welding, and other; and one-third were on clerical or similar work.

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH WOMEN FOUND THEIR FIRST PEACETIME JOBS

About three-fourths of the women continued to work after VJ-day. 1/ As noted in an earlier section, some continued to work in the same plant on peacetime production, some remained on the first job they secured in other plants, others shifted about to two or three or four successive jobs; and a small group waited to be recalled to their former wartime plants.

Significant industrial and occupational shifts were involved in the change from wartime jobs in manufacturing plants to the first peacetime jobs.

About three out of five women who found peacetime jobs did so in manufacturing plants (the majority found work with their wartime employers). The others found work outside of factories, chiefly in the trade and service industries. For the women who shifted to other manufacturing plants, postwar jobs were for the most part in the industries producing nondurable goods -- apparel, textile products, and food -- which are the traditional woman-employing manufacturing industries.

Industry Group of First Peacetime Job

Industry Group	Percent of women	
Total	100	
Manufacturing	59	
Wartime employer		35
Other employer		24
Retail and wholesale trade	16	
Service industries	16	
Other industries	9	

1/ Of the 1946 labor force group, 57 percent had worked the week before Pearl Harbor and 42 percent were not in the labor force at that time.

For factory production workers a shift to another industry usually meant a change in kind of work. The wartime riveters and welders, for example, became peacetime machine operators, packers, wrappers, and inspectors. In contrast, clerical workers on the whole stayed in the same line of work; they formed a third of the total employed both in 1944 and among those on early peacetime jobs. For the women who shifted to nonclerical jobs in the trade and service industries, the occupations undertaken were entirely different and meant a complete readjustment.

Occupation Group of First Peacetime Job

Occupation Group	Percent of women	
Total	100	
Factory production	39	
Wartime employer		20
Clerical and related	33	
Sales and related	12	
Service	14	
Other	2	

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS OF 1946 JOBS

Though all the former war plants operating in the fall of 1946 had converted to peacetime production and, with the exception of the shipyards, were employing some women, the total number they employed was only a fraction of their wartime total. They were taking on new women employees only if they were experienced in certain particular kinds of work. This restrictive hiring policy, together with the great reduction in the numbers of employees needed for their peacetime production, was responsible for the shift back to the nondurable goods and trade and service industries.

As the plants had converted to a peacetime production basis, so had this group of displaced war workers shaken down to a peacetime employment status. Employment changes had taken place after the first peacetime jobs. By 1946, ten percent more of the 300 had left the labor force, a few women had been recalled from other jobs by their wartime employers, and others had shifted about from job to job. These changes may be seen by comparing the industries in which the women were employed in 1946 with the industries in which they held first postwar jobs. In 1946 there had again appeared a slight rise in the proportion of women employed in manufacturing plants which, in turn, caused a decrease in the proportion in trade and service industries.

A distribution of the employed women by the industry group in which they were working in 1946 shows:

65 percent in manufacturing plants
  45 percent for wartime employer
  20 percent for other than wartime employer
12 percent in retail and wholesale trade
11 percent in the service industries
12 percent in other miscellaneous industries

Leaving aside the 45 percent of the women who were still or again employed by their war employers, the remaining 55 percent of the women employed in 1946 had found jobs in factories (apparel, food processing, iron and steel products, and various other manufacturing plants), retail and wholesale trade, service industries, government, communications, and other industries.

1946 EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS COMPARED WITH 1944 WAR PLANT OCCUPATIONS

The following detailed analysis of the individual women's major wartime and peacetime occupations is shown in order to throw some light on the queries, so often put to the Women's Bureau: "To what extent are former war workers currently employed in the same occupations as their wartime occupation? If they have changed, from what war jobs did they shift and to what current jobs?"

WARTIME OCCUPATION - 1944	PEACETIME OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS - 1946
42 - assemblers and bench workers	7 - assemblers and bench workers 4 - factory production workers other than assemblers and bench workers 4 - clerical workers 8 - other (telephone operators, saleswomen, beauty operator, household employees). 5 - seeking work 14 - had left labor force
35 - drill press, punch press, and other machine operators	11 - machine operators 1 - inspector 1 - clerical worker 7 - other (telephone operator, nurse, saleswoman, laundry operator, waitress, household employee) 5 - seeking work 10 - had left labor force

29 - testers and inspectors	13 - testers and inspectors 2 - factory production workers other than testers and inspectors 1 - clerical worker 2 - other (saleswoman, waitress) 4 - seeking work 7 - had left labor force
27 - riveters	2 - riveters 8 - factory production workers other than riveters 3 - clerical workers 2 - other (saleswoman, waitress) 4 - seeking work 8 - had left labor force
15 - welders	2 - clerical workers 4 - other (saleswomán, waitress, laundry worker, nurse) 4 - seeking work 5 - had left labor force
92 - clerical workers	51 - clerical workers 5 - factory production workers 8 - other (telephone operator, saleswoman, beauty operators, waitress, own business) 5 - seeking work 23 - had left labor force

A similar analysis of the principal war industries points up the fact that the majority of the women employed in 1946 in manufacturing plants were working for their wartime employers on peacetime production. Relatively few had found jobs in other plants. The wartime electrical workers were the most fortunate in continuing in their same line of work; the shipyard workers, the least. This latter group also seemed to have had the greatest difficulty in securing suitable peacetime jobs, as one-third of those desiring employment in 1946 were out of work as compared to about one-tenth of the women who had worked in the various other war industry plants.

WARTIME INDUSTRY - 1944	PEACETIME INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS - 1946
133 - in aircraft plants	28 - in same manufacturing plants as in 1944 24 - in other manufacturing plants, such as apparel, food, electrieal, iron and steel 12 - in wholesale and retail trade 10 - in personal service industries 10 - in miscellaneous industries such as public utilities, government, insurance, and real estate 2 - in own business 12 - seeking work 35 - had left labor force
85 - in electrical products plants	41 - in same manufacturing plants as in 1944 9 - in other manufacturing plants 3 - in retail trade 3 - in personal service industries 4 - in miscellaneous industries 6 - seeking work 19 - had left the labor force
40 - in shipyards	2 - in same manufacturing plant as in 1944 3 - in other manufacturing plants 6 - in wholesale and retail trade 4 - in personal service industries 4 - in miscellaneous industries 9 - seeking work 12 - had left the labor force

7. EARNINGS AND HOURS

EARNINGS

Comparison of Gross Earnings in Fall of 1946 With Wartime Earnings

Generally lower earnings than were reported during wartime were not unexpected among the employed women interviewed in Baltimore in the fall of 1946. Such an over-all trend was an inevitable result of the generally shorter workweek and of the shifting to nonwar industries where rates of pay would tend to be lower than they had been in war plants. For women fortunate enough to have survived the VJ-day lay-offs or, though laid off at the end of the war, to have been recalled subsequently, the shortened workweek, in itself, was enough to cut earnings somewhat from what they had been during the height of war production. Even harder hit, however, were women who went to work for other employers, for they felt not only the economic effect of shorter hours, but also of generally lower rates of pay.

The general reduction in earnings is evident from a comparison of the women's average $50 earnings for their last normal week on war work with the $37 average for their last normal week on jobs held in 1946. Ninety percent of the employed women interviewed in 1946 were working for less money in 1946 than on their wartime jobs; the earnings of about half were from 25 to 50 percent less in 1946 than their wartime pay. For the women who in 1946 were working for their wartime employer (either because of continuous employment or recall subsequent to termination) the average at the later date was $44; for those working in 1946 for other than their wartime employers, earnings averaged $31. The loss of the wartime overtime pay for the former group was partly compensated for in some plants by "across-the-board" pay increases. Women who went into other manufacturing plants fared slightly better than those who took jobs in other industries; the women in the factories were averaging $32 weekly, while women in other jobs were making, on the average, $29 weekly.

The smaller proportion of women with high earnings in 1946 than during the war further emphasizes the difference in earnings between the two periods. The bulk of the wartime earnings fell in the high brackets. Nearly half the women earned $50 or more a week, whereas in 1946 not even a tenth of the women who were employed earned this much.

In the change from wartime to peacetime, not only did the greatest decrease in the percent of workers occur in the very highest wage-bracket jobs ($50 and over) but the greatest increase occurred in the very lowest wage-bracket jobs (under $30). Only 1 percent of the women received wages under $30 on their war jobs, as compared to 27 percent of those who were working when interviewed in 1946.

Weekly gross earnings	On war jobs (91 women)	On 1946 jobs (176 women)
Average week's earnings	$50	$37
	Percent of women	Percent of women
All women	100	100
Under $30	1	27
$30, under $40	16	35
$40, under $50	36	29
$50 and over	47	9

Women on factory production work in 1946 fared a little better than women in clerical positions; their respective average earnings were $40 and $39. On their war jobs, women production workers averaged $52 as compared to the $43 averaged by clerical workers.

Earnings on All Jobs Subsequent to Last War Job

An analysis was made of the earnings on all the jobs held by all the women who shifted from the war plants to subsequent jobs. This analysis excludes women who worked continuously without a break in the plant where employed in wartime, women who left the labor market, and women who never had a job after separation from the war plants.

As previously stated, approximately one-half of the women who shifted from war work to peacetime jobs had one peacetime job; one-third shifted twice, and the remainder to three or four jobs. The average last normal week's earnings for all those who had one job was $32. A considerable number of those who had two jobs evidently benefited by the change, as the average for the group increased from $28 for the first job to $32 for the second. The averages for those who had three or four jobs also showed progressive increase, from $26 to $28 to $34.

A more accurate picture of the effect of the trend to lower earnings is apparent when the individual woman's experience is considered in relation to her earnings on her war job, rather than in relation to the number of jobs she held. Eighty-eight percent suffered a decrease from wartime earnings on every job they held. Of the women having one job (for the most part clerical workers and those operating their own businesses), 86 percent earned less in 1946 than on their war jobs, 14 percent earned more. Of those having two or more jobs, 89 percent earned less on every job, 11 percent more on only one of the several jobs held.

A larger proportion of the wartime production workers than of the clerical workers showed a decrease in earnings in their subsequent jobs; also, the amount of the decrease for the clerical workers was proportionately smaller. As previously stated, the large majority of the clerical workers continued after the war in the work for which they were trained and consequently experienced a smaller cut in earnings than the many production workers who secured jobs in new fields.

Take-home Earnings in 1946

Even more significant than the gross earnings was the actual amount in the pay envelopes after legal deductions for social security and income taxes had been made. (That many of these women continued pay-roll bond deductions is doubtful.) The average net earnings were $31 -- certainly a small amount for a worker to depend on to maintain an adequate and healthful standard of living.

HOURS

The Shortened Postwar Workweek Compared to Wartime Hours

The general trend toward a shorter workweek since the war is shown by an examination of the weekly hours reported for the jobs held in 1944 and for the 1946 jobs.

Ninety-five percent of the women had a scheduled workweek on their war jobs of 48 hours or longer (either on straight scheduled weeks of this length or weeks of alternating hours which averaged this much), whereas only 22 percent of the women employed in 1946 were working as long as 48 hours.

While the 6-day, 48-hour schedule was the usual workweek during the war, and 60 percent of the women worked these hours, the 5-day, 40-hour week was found to be the most usual for the women on their 1946 jobs. Nearly two-thirds of the women were working these hours or less.

Alternating shifts - working 5 days and 6 days in alternating weeks - were a wartime measure and were seldom found on peacetime jobs.

Individual Workers' Experiences

Mrs. A was earning $48.36 for 48 hours 3/ as an electrician's helper in the shipyard when laid off in August 1945. After hunting work for a month, she took a job as a saleswoman, was paid $28 for 40 hours, and was still there when revisited in 1946.

3/ All earnings quoted are gross earnings, as reported by worker.

Mrs. B worked as a riveter in an aircraft plant. At the time she was laid off in August 1945, she was earning $48.10 for a 48-hour week. She was out of work for 13 months during which time she received unemployment compensation for 16 weeks, then found a job in a venetian blind factory and received $23 for 45 hours. She was still there in 1946.

Mrs. C, a painter in an aircraft plant, earned during the war $51 for 54 hours. She resigned July 1945 and was out of the labor force 4 months. She then got a job as box decorator in a factory at $18 for 40 hours, worked there 2 months, left because of low pay and, losing no time between jobs, went to a leather factory, where she was earning $33.80 for 48 hours as an assembler and paster in 1946.

Miss D, a sewing machine operator in an aircraft plant, was making $59 for a 45-hour week when laid off at the end of the war. She was unemployed for 1 month, then found work as a sewing machine operator in a clothing plant and was paid $24 for 40 hours. When again laid off, she got another job at once in another apparel plant, where she was earning $28 for a 40-hour week when interviewed in 1946.

Miss E, a clerical worker in a war plant in 1944, was earning $41.60 for 48 hours. When laid off August 1945 she hunted work for 1 month until she took a job as salesgirl, earning $26 for 40 hours. She worked there 1 month but left because she did not like the work or the company and again was a job seeker for a month, when she found a clerical job in a library as a stenographer. There she was earning $26.73 for a 40-hour week when revisited in 1946.

Miss F, an aircraft riveter, was earning $59 for a 48-hour week when laid off in August 1945. She took a month's vacation between jobs, and then took a job preparing vegetables in a food plant, earning $27 for 48 hours. She worked there 6 months, when she was called back by her wartime employer to her former job, where her earnings were $47.84 for a 40-hour week in 1946.

8. JOB COMPARISONS - PEACETIME JOBS AND WAR JOBS

To ascertain how peacetime jobs differ from those women had during the war, Women's Bureau agents asked each of the women in the labor force to compare the job she was doing in the fall of 1946 with the job she had held in 1944. If she was not presently employed, but had had another job subsequent to leaving the war job, the comparison was made between the last job held and the war job.

JOB CHANGES OF WOMEN WHO WERE STILL IN PLANTS WHERE THEY HAD WORKED IN 1944

Reconversion to peacetime production had brought about readjustments which usually meant that, even though the woman was working in the same plant as that in which she had worked during the war, her job was a different one than her war job. A few women, however, who had continued to work during the entire 2-year period in the plant in which employed in 1944, or who had been recalled subsequent to termination, reported no change in job content. The work they were doing in the fall of 1946 was the same as that they had been doing two years previously. Those whose occupations continued unchanged were clerical workers, cafeteria workers, and an industrial nurse (all of whom performed functions unaffected by the product of the plant), and a few factory production workers, chiefly assemblers, machine operators, and inspectors.

More often, however, workers still employed in the plants in which they had worked during the war reported changes in job content.

These reports express the opinion of the worker and are not based on technical analyses of job content. Further, the changes reported by the workers varied greatly in nature and extent. However, certain generalizations can be offered from a compilation of their answers.

(1) Evidence that the dilution of jobs which was characteristic of war production was giving way to consolidation of duties was found in the fact that women frequently reported that their postwar work involved a greater variety of duties than did their war work. Such increased variety in the job, however, demanded broader skill and made the work more interesting.

Mrs. S, a riveter during the war, was discharged and later recalled to the same position. However, because the aircraft plant was converting war planes for use as commercial airliners, in place of manufacturing war planes, her work had changed considerably. In 1944 she was on a bench job on the assembly line, working exclusively on top and side panels, staying in the same spot all day long. Working on the conversion of army C-54's to commercial DC-4's, she had a variety of riveting jobs, working on the entire plane. Her work involved more physical strain because she had to climb up on scaffolds, in and out of the plane. The variety of tasks assigned her also required more skill, and she was constantly learning new variations in riveting.

Miss B S, a wartime riveter at an aircraft factory, was transferred to assembly. Work as an assembler was more interesting because it involved a variety of jobs, only one of which was riveting; for the same reason it required broader skills. Assembly involved riveting, filing, fitting in bolts, and many other operations; it required the worker to make decisions as to parts to be used and procedure to be followed; it required, she said, "brain work" and "head thinking," as opposed to riveting which was "just holding the gun in place all day long and steadying herself against the 'jumping' " Assembly, she felt, emphasized mental capacity, while riveting was primarily a matter of physical endurance.

(2) Transfers to other jobs within the plant resulted in women doing work quite different from their war work. Some found it easier working on the new job, some more difficult; some were pleased with their new assignments, others did not like them as well as their war work.

A welder in a shipbuilding plant, who was transferred by the firm to a factory clerical position, found her new work less strenuous, less hazardous, and cleaner; welding had been hard on her eyes and throat.

A solderer in an electrical equipment plant, who became a bench hand, was not as satisfied with this job as with her war job. Her bench work involved stripping rubber from cords and was hard on her hands; she had to be trained to work up speed in order to earn a piece-work bonus.

A wartime electrician in an aircraft plant was recalled to take a job as an assembler. For 30 days after being recalled she worked directly under a higher-rated assembler in order to learn the duties of the new work. Assembly, she said, was harder work than was electrical work because it required heavy drilling and constant standing. It was a more responsible position, too, because of the danger of damaging expensive materials; as an electrician, a mistake meant only replacing one small wire.

(3) Promotions over the 2-year period resulted in women doing work which differed from that which they did during the war.

A junior clerk in the office of an aircraft plant was promoted to senior clerk. Her new job presented greater variety of duties and increased responsibility.

The case of Miss R, who had been a computor in the structural engineering division of a large aircraft plant, is an illustration of an even more far reaching change in job content. Early in 1946 she was promoted to the position of junior stress analyst. This work, considerably more responsible than that which she did as a computor, required the worker to plan her own work and make decisions independently; whereas a computor's job was classified as a non-technical job in the engineering department, her present job was in the first grade of technical jobs. This promotion was not, as might be thought, simply an advancement as a result of seniority and satisfactory performance, for, in addition to the background training she received during all the time she was a computor, she also completed two university night school courses in structural engineering, one of which was sponsored by the firm for which she worked. She pointed out that though her own work changed considerably as a result of her promotion to a higher-rated position, the work of the structural engineering department is the same now as it was during the war. She explained that the procedures involved in testing the airplane are quite constant, regardless of whether it is to be used as a warplane or a commercial airliner.

(4) The readjustments in production not only changed the nature of the work, but also, in some cases, increased or lessened the workload of the individual worker.

A record clerk in an aircraft plant, who kept records of changes in design and production, found that the end of the war meant that her work was greatly increased because the plant did a great deal of retooling and reengineering. Furthermore, she had the added responsibility of training new workers since she was the only experienced person in her work.

A timekeeper in a war plant, on the other hand, found her postwar job of timekeeper in a plant manufacturing tin cans to be easier because she had fewer workers for whom to keep time.

(5) An indication that the increased supply of labor had led to stricter production demands by management is found in the reports of some women - both office and plant workers - who felt that supervision was closer in postwar employment than it was in the same plants during the war.

POSTWAR JOBS OF WOMEN WHO WENT INTO MANUFACTURING PLANTS OTHER THAN THE ONES IN WHICH THEY WORKED DURING THE WAR

The variety of manufacturing industries in which women found jobs after separation from their war jobs has been discussed in a previous section. Products of these plants differed considerably from war industry products.

It is natural that, with greater diversity in type of industry, the comparison of later jobs in these plants to jobs in war plants should reflect the divergence. Only among the clerical workers were answers somewhat uniform. The girls who found jobs in offices of manufacturing plants found their duties much the same as during the war, though working conditions, almost without exception, were reported to be less desirable than they had been in the war plants. Also, women often reported finding themselves in somewhat more responsible positions, since postwar jobs were in smaller plants.

Production workers' answers varied greatly. More often than not, women found the jobs in civilian factories required less skill than those they had held in the war plants; more often, too, they found them physically easier. Working conditions varied: some women reported them better, some not as good, and some about the same as on the war jobs.

> A S felt she was worse off in her postwar job than she was during the war. Her war job as a riveter in an aircraft plant was easy because the pace was leisurely. After leaving the war plant, she tried two other jobs and, at the time of the 1946 interview, was working as a machine operator in a candy and chewing gum factory. In this job she had to watch two machines and had to be more alert than as a riveter. Working conditions in the chewing gum factory were not what they were in the war plant: she missed the nice ladies' lounges, the rest periods, and the "smoking time" she had had as a war worker.
>
> V C presented a happier case. She, too, had been a riveter in an aircraft plant and transferred later to a job as a cleaner. When interviewed in 1946, however, she was employed as a crane operator in a plant manufacturing steel wire. She entered the plant

inexperienced in crane operation and was trained on the job by her supervisor; she learned the work easily and got her first raise after she had been there only 5 weeks. V C said, "There's an art to running a crane," and felt her 1946 work was far more skillful than her war job. "It's strenuous," she said, but "I can take it." Though working conditions at the aircraft plant were good, they were even better in the present plant: workers had individual lockers, clean dressing rooms, a matron to assist them, shower rooms, and a moderately-priced cafeteria. Of the plant personnel policy she could not be too complimentary: "They do everything for their employees." But what delighted her most about her job was the future it held for her, which was a most important consideration with her because she was a young, divorced woman with two children dependent upon her. She had been promoted several times and had seniority over 43 men in her department; she was next in line for a factory clerical position which she was looking forward to because it would be less taxing work.

JOBS IN TRADE COMPARED WITH JOBS IN WAR PLANTS

The many women who were employed in trade establishments in Baltimore at the time of the 1946 follow-up were working at jobs distinctly different from the production jobs in the factories. There are no operative positions among salesgirls in the retail stores and among the specialized clerical positions in the mail order business to compare with the factory production jobs. The bulk of the women who went into trade were in jobs of the two types just mentioned.

Apparently sales work was easily learned, for none of the women reported any period of training, and a number of them felt that their selling jobs required less skill than the jobs they had had in war industries. Often reported, too, was that work in stores was cleaner and quieter than work in factories, though the constant standing made the work tiring. As with every other type of work into which women shifted after war jobs, satisfaction with the new jobs varied among individuals:

Some, like Mrs. M (a timekeeper in an aircraft plant during the war) who had said at the time of the wartime interview that she did not care to continue in that occupation after the end of the war because she felt capable of assuming more responsibility than work as a timekeeper involved, found sales work satisfactory. She considered a salesgirl's job "much higher class" than her war work and "clean, nice, and refined." She found working conditions in the store more desirable than in the war plant and the pace of work more leisurely; in war work, she said, employees were "hounded and driven."

But Mrs. F, an exriveter, also went into sales work and compared it unfavorably with work in the aircraft plant -- so much so that she quit after working 2 months. She said, "Sales work is too tough; it just doesn't pay to do store work." She wants an "industrial job with a 5-day week and off at 4:30."

Women in clerical jobs at the mail order house were working in various capacities peculiar to that business: control clerk, invoice clerk, exchange adjuster, stock clerk, biller, index clerk, collection clerk, error correction clerk. The firm had given them training, either on the job or in central classrooms; one woman who became a collection clerk was trained for 8 full weeks. On the whole, the women found that their jobs in the mail order house were more responsible than their war work, requiring more concentration and attention to detail. This fact, together with the production quota system by which the firm requires each employee to get out a stipulated amount of work, led to comments of "terrific pressure" and "nerve-wracking work."

In addition to retail sales and mail order jobs, there were other openings in trade. Some women had found jobs in the offices of stores; one ex-shipyard worker had gone back to her prewar employer, a grocery supermarket, and was a supervisor; one woman had become a buyer in a dress shop, one a packer in a grocery warehouse, one a charwoman in a department store.

JOBS IN THE SERVICE INDUSTRIES COMPARED WITH JOBS IN WAR PLANTS

Jobs in the service industries had gone begging during the war. The higher wages offered in manufacturing plants had drawn women from restaurants, hotels, hospitals, laundries, and domestic employment into factory jobs. But with cut-backs in factory employment after the end of the war, some women who had to find other jobs went back into the service industries. As among women who held other postwar jobs discussed above, their satisfaction and reasons for satisfaction varied.

Many women became restaurant waitresses, and their comparisons of that work with the work they had done in the war plant presents interesting contrasts. Some of the women who became waitresses found the work cleaner than their jobs in war plants had been.

L B, who had been a tack welder in a shipyard, said that her chief objection to her war job was that it was dirty work; only the fact that she made good money and did not have to work too hard made up for the dirtiness of the work.

M S, another waitress, also liked the cleanness of restaurant work; she said she had done factory work during the war "just out of patriotism."

F S and S B found waitress work preferable to their war work, in still other respects:

F S liked the opportunity she had in the restaurant to take it easy when there were no customers, whereas the war plant had been a constant grind except for rest periods.

S B had objected to her riveter job because it was confined to one process and to standing in one place, while her waitress work afforded somewhat more variety.

There were other waitresses, though, for whom this work compared unfavorably with what they had done during the war:

Mrs. S S found waiting on table more fatiguing than her work as a punch press operator. She had to work hard in order to make the tips which determined her earnings. Her war job required mechanical skill, whereas "a waitress' brains have to be in her feet." In the war plant, furthermore, she did not have the rush periods which are characteristic of the mealtime business in restaurants.

A number of the women thought that working conditions in the restaurants in which they were employed did not measure up to what they had been in the war plants. One woman complained of the fact that she had no scheduled eating period.

Besides the waitress job there were other positions in restaurants in which exwar workers found jobs:

A hostess-waitress, who had done the work of a cashier in a company cafeteria during the war, commented that she was doing work which she considered of comparable skill to her war work but was getting less money for it.

A dishwasher said that though her job required little skill, it was considerably harder than her job as a fire watchman in a shipyard.

Another dishwasher complained of much less pay than during the war and no premium overtime.

A kitchen helper found the restaurant kitchen "stuffy and dirty."

Laundry jobs, on the whole, were not favorably compared with war jobs:

> A flatwork folder said the laundry was always too hot and damp.
>
> A shirtline operative complained because working conditions in the laundry were poor and her job uninteresting.
>
> A hand ironer found her work more strenuous than that of a cleaner in the war plant where she only "pushed a broom"; in her laundry job she had to work steadily and stand continuously; the humidity was uncomfortably high, and she had rest periods only in the summer.
>
> One woman, however, provided an exception to the general rule of dissatisfaction with laundry work. She had been a spot welder's helper in an aircraft plant and had found the work so heavy she could not do it well; she had had to hold large propeller parts which were difficult to grasp because they were so awkward; she had never felt that she did the job efficiently. Her work as a sorter in a power laundry she could handle well, and she understood it more thoroughly. Even though the war plant was a nicer place to work -- cleaner, adequate women's facilities, more pay -- she was happier in her postwar work because she had the self satisfaction of knowing she was doing a good job.

The work of a beauty operator was another occupation which attracted women after release from war plants. This job was unique among the jobs in the service industries in that it required a long period of specialized training: Maryland State law requires a beauty operator to train for 1,000 hours, equivalent to twenty-five 40-hour weeks, in order to obtain a license.

> Some women found a beauty operator's work disappointing, like A S after her experience as a teletypist in an aircraft plant. Not only had she liked her war job because it was office work, but she had found it interesting because it required mental skill and concentration. Beauty culture, she said, was purely manual and she found it tedious, nonvarying, and uninteresting.
>
> H H, on the other hand, felt that the work of a beauty operator required her to use her own judgment, whereas her work as an expeditor in the aircraft plant had been "just doing what comes naturally." H H felt, furthermore, that training in a specific trade, such as beauty culture, would always make it easier for her to earn a living.

H C found that the greatest difference in her new position in her father's business from the job she held in the war plant was in the matter of skill and responsibility. Her new work required broad knowledge of the business, which she had because she had been associated with it all her life. It was a position of responsibility, too, if production and service were to be maintained. Her war job, on the other hand, had been routine, and, in comparison, simple -- just taking meal checks in the cafeteria of the plant. Though she had no formal period of training before going into catering as a full-time job, her father was training her more intensively in managerial and administrative duties, since she might have to run the business when he retired.

Mrs. E L was another exwar worker running a business. She and her husband decided to buy and operate a small restaurant-beer parlor. Her husband had not been entirely well since being injured in the First World War; they felt that, in a business of their own, he would have beneficial freedom from routine hours. They bought their restaurant in June of 1945, and Mrs. L left the aircraft plant where she had been an assembly supervisor for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. Both felt more secure after buying their business. They were located just across the street from a large factory, and much of their trade was from workers at this plant. Menus were published a day ahead of time, and the factory workers ordered their next day's lunches when they came in each noon. Then each day, about 10 minutes before the crowd was due, waitresses and cooks served up the orders that had been given the day before. This eliminated the time the customers would waste waiting for their food, a distinct convenience to them since they had only $\frac{1}{2}$-hour lunch period. — Mrs. E L and her husband managed the business jointly. She had complete charge of the kitchen, of buying food, and of hiring cooks. He managed the bar. Both waited on trade as they were needed.

JOBS IN GOVERNMENT COMPARED WITH JOBS IN WAR PLANTS

The municipal and Federal Government offices in the Baltimore area provided job openings for a number of women who had been war workers. The offices of the Social Security Board and the Maritime Commission, the public schools and public libraries, and a nearby army camp were among the Government agencies where women were working at the time of the follow-up study.

Three of the women were operating tabulating machines at the offices of one of these agencies in 1946:

One had been a clerk-typist in an electrical plant during the war; she found her new job involved greater responsibility, though she was not working as hard as she did at the war plant; working conditions, she said, were better than they had been at the war plant.

A former electrician's assistant in a shipyard found her work as a card punch operator required more concentration and greater accuracy than her war job; she received 6 weeks' training in this job when she first came to work there; except for poor lighting, she, too, considered working conditions superior to what they had been in the war plant.

The third woman had been an assembler in aircraft. She said her new work was less strenuous physically, but more mental concentration was involved than in aircraft assembly. In her estimation, working conditions in this office did not come up to what they were at the war plant. She was now in an old, crowded building, but during the war her working quarters had been clean, modern, and comfortable.

Two other women reported - one less, one greater satisfaction on her 1946 job:

R B, a former solderer in an electrical equipment plant, went into a job with the municipal government and was somewhat dissatisfied with it. She was a kitchen helper and janitress at a public school, which work, she said, was less skillful and much harder on her than her war work had been. She was on her feet constantly, whereas she could sit all the time at the war plant. Furthermore, she said she was unhappy in this new job because she had become well-accustomed to war work and hadn't been able to adjust to her present job.

But a former clerk in an aircraft plant found that her new job as a stenographer in a public library was satisfactory. The stenographic position required more training, more skill, and involved more duties than did her war job. She liked working in a library better than in the aircraft plant.

JOBS IN THE TELEPHONE COMPANY

The telephone industry provided job opportunities for many displaced women war workers. The company trained all inexperienced women for a period of at least 2 weeks. For special jobs -- long distance, teletype -- additional training was given.

As with every other type of postwar job, the comparison with the war job, as reported by each woman, varied with the individual:

> E J found the work of a telephone operator particularly interesting; the company had teletype facilities in her local exchange, and she had been trained for handling teletype equipment part of the time. She thought her new work less strenuous than her job as an assembler in an electrical plant had been but that it required more concentration. Working conditions at the telephone company were excellent.
>
> K B was pleased with her telephone work, too. She liked the feeling of teamwork in the operator's job; she had worked entirely by herself in her assembly work in the aircraft plant. She was also more satisfied working in a place where she could wear street clothes; she disliked wearing overalls to work every day, as she had had to do at the war plant.
>
> R G, however, was dissatisfied with a telephone operator's job. She disliked the split shift and close supervision. She found the work less skillful than that of her war work as a patternmaker in a shipyard, but requiring more concentration. Furthermore, her postwar work was nerve wracking, because each operator carried too heavy a load.
>
> M G had somewhat the same objections to telephone work. She said she had "too many bosses," and, though the work was not as strenuous physically as her work as an assembler in an aircraft plant had been, she preferred the factory work. A telephone operator's job, she said, is nerve wracking because of the heavy traffic through the switchboard.

9. JOB PREFERENCES

The question of job preference is an important part of the whole question of job satisfaction. Certainly a worker who is in work she prefers is more apt to be satisfied with her job than one who is not in a field of her preference.

Each of the 222 women who was in the labor force at the time of the follow-up study was asked what kind of work she preferred. All but 15 of them expressed a preference.

JOBS THE WOMEN PREFERRED

Approximately three out of four who preferred particular jobs would like either factory productive or clerical jobs, as shown in the following summary:

Job preference	Percent of Women	
All women reporting	100	
Factory production job	41	
Assembler and bench hand		10
Sewing machine operator		2
Other machine operator		10
Riveter		3
Welder		1
Tester and inspector		8
Packer, wrapper, sorter		1/
Other production worker		7
Factory maintenance or service worker	1	
Clerical or related worker	31	
Sales or related worker	3	
Restaurant or hotel employee	3	
Laundry employee	1/	
Beauty operator	2	
Household employee	1/	
Other service employee	2	
Telephone operator	4	
Teacher and nurse	1	
Other professional worker	2	
Own or family business	2	
No preference	7	

1/ Less than one-half of one percent.

The most popular of the factory jobs were assembly and bench work machine operation (other than sewing machine), and testing and inspection. Though riveting and welding have often been considered the "glamour jobs" of the war plants, they were not often mentioned as preferences. Only four-tenths of the women who were riveters and welders during the war preferred these jobs; many women found such work nerve wracking and too strenuous physically. Clerical workers, though they prefer desk jobs, feel there is little difference between one office job and another and did not specify any industry. Household employment and laundry work were each mentioned only once: one woman liked household work because she enjoyed the duties inherent in that job, while the woman who listed laundry work as her preference (as described above) said she would rather do that work than anything else because she understood it well and could do it efficiently.

REASONS GIVEN FOR JOB PREFERENCES

Reasons given by individual women for preferring particular jobs over other jobs they could do were varied. In manufacturing jobs, and usually metal-using plants were specified, women mentioned good pay, interesting work, and desirable working conditions as reasons for preferring that kind of work. A number of the assemblers mentioned the fact that this work requires manual dexterity, and they like working with their hands. Testers and inspectors liked the responsibility connected with testing and final inspection. Women who preferred clerical jobs did so because they enjoyed the work, because they were trained for it, because working conditions are desirable.

While such reasons as listed above are those which were commonly reported, there were many women who had unique reasons for preferring jobs:

> R M liked tin inspection because the rhythm of the work (flopping tin plates to inspect for flaws) makes the day pass quickly.
>
> A W preferred a beauty operator's job because she enjoyed making people look their best; since she liked the work she did not find it as tiring as clerical work which she had done previously.
>
> V W reported secretarial work as the job of her choice; she liked it because it was women's work, and she felt that if one is proficient in that line, one can always find a desirable job.

The story of M V illustrates a preference based on individual circumstances:

> Mrs. V, widowed early in life and in need of support for her small children and herself, had done housework and home laundry work until, during war production, she got a job as a cleaner in one of Baltimore's aircraft plants. She worked there until terminated in the VJ-day reductions in force. Her physical condition and advanced age (she is over 60) would have made it impossible for her to return to the kind of work she had done before the war, had she wanted to do so. When a Women's Bureau agent interviewed her in 1946 she was employed as a button sewer in a men's garment plant, and, for the first time in her life, on a job she liked. To Mrs. V being able to work in a clean, warm workroom and to sit while she worked were important factors in determining that this job was her preferred work. She liked her sewing job at much less money better than her war job because working conditions were highly regarded by her.

EXTENT TO WHICH WOMEN WERE WORKING AFTER THE WAR ON JOBS THEY PREFERRED

A majority of employed women, at the time of the follow-up study, were on jobs of their preference. Nearly two-thirds of the working women were doing the kind of work they preferred to do. The ratio was even higher among clerical and factory production workers: four of every five of the women employed in these jobs were in the kind of work they preferred. However, women working in retail trade and service industries were not, as a group, so well satisfied with their work: only about one in every three preferred work in these industries.

EXTENT TO WHICH WOMEN PREFERRED THEIR PREWAR JOBS

Apparently the job shifts which occurred after the war resulted in greater job satisfaction, for while about two-thirds of the women employed in the postwar period were working on jobs of their preference, in only about half the cases where women had worked before Pearl Harbor was the prewar job her preferred work. There is considerable variation, however, in the comparisons of prewar with preferred jobs, depending upon the kind of work in which the women were employed before the war.

Nearly two-thirds of the women who had left prewar jobs in the traditional woman-employing factories preferred factory jobs, but not in the "women's" industries; they preferred, rather, to work in metal-working plants.

A large majority (78 percent) of those who were in clerical work before the war, and most of whom stayed in the same kind of work during the war, preferred such jobs.

Only 14 percent of the women who had been in trade and service industries before going into war plants (they represented more than one-third of the prewar workers) listed work in these industries as their preferred jobs.

Although over 10 percent of the prewar workers had been household employees, only one preferred this work in the postwar period.

10. EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK IN 1946

The job chances for Baltimore women during reconversion and in the normal peacetime production to follow was investigated in interviews with personnel officials of eight Baltimore business organizations -- in both manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries.

In nonwar industries, the nature of production varied little during the war, though volume of production was lessened because these industries, declared nonessential by the War Manpower Commission, were unable to get workers. In the early postwar period these plants had numerous openings, many of which were for women. One men's clothing plant hired women on all jobs except hand pressing; only 18 of the 173 jobs in the plant were held by men. A mail order house reported 2,500 women's job openings, the bulk of which were clerical positions. A retail department store reported about 325 women's job openings, in sales, clerical, and stockroom work. Such jobs were the same ones women had always held; the nature of the work did not change during the war nor did new job opportunities for women develop as a result of war production.

In plants that formerly manufactured war goods, the story was different. Interviews were held with officials of a large aircraft plant, two electrical equipment manufacturers, a plant making piston rings, a machinery plant, and a company which manufactured closures and cans. The product of some of these plants had been different during the war than in the fall of 1946. Each reported that new job opportunities for women had been created during the war, either by the changed method of production or by the necessity for hiring women when men were not available, but, with production back on a peacetime basis and more men in the labor market, not all these jobs were still open to women equally with men.

In the aircraft plant women seemed to have made substantial gains: before the war women had not been employed in aircraft production, but during the war were taken on in many capacities -- as assemblers, riveters, sheet metal workers, electricians, in sound proofing, and in the paint shop -- and some still were employed in all these jobs in peacetime production. The plant's personnel official reported that jobs on peacetime production required more versatility than did war jobs; and that, though individual operations in the manufacture of commercial planes were essentially the same as in mass production of warplanes, workers were assigned more diversified tasks. This same plant also reported women on more white-collar jobs than before the war and specifically mentioned a woman patent attorney and women engineers.

Both electrical equipment plants reported in interviews that though women had been placed in "men's" jobs during the war, men took over these jobs again in the postwar period. In one plant where women had been taken on for the first time as truck operators, welders, crane operators, and messengers during the war, management was filling the positions with men as the women left; some attempt was being made to place these women in other "women's" jobs without loss of wages or grade. The other electrical plant reported that the jobs new to women during the war -- lathe, drill press, and other machine operation, tool room work, and testing -- were considered "men's" work, and no women were kept on these jobs after the war. This plant maintained that its war product was more suitable for the employment of women, because of the weight factor and the skill required, than its peacetime product.

Information from two of the metal working plants was similar; though they had had women on new jobs during the war, such jobs had been taken over by men again. One of these employers said that regular production in the plant, as opposed to war production, was unsuitable for women because of the necessity of handling large castings and parts.

The third plant, however, had created new positions for women as a result of war experience. Machine operation jobs had been re-engineered so women could handle them, and, in the early postwar period, women were still retained in these positions.

Baltimore Postwar Follow Up
Plant
Time with plant
Schedule number

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
Washington, D.C.

Budget Bureau No. 44-4622
Approval expires 5-1-1947

Name _____ Address _____

I EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE OF WORKER - OCTOBER 1944-OCTOBER 1946

	Date employed		Firm Name	EMPLOYED (ALL JOBS OF ONE WEEK OR MORE)							Time not employed
	From	To		Industry	Job	How obtained	Weekly earnings 1/ Total	Weekly earnings 1/ Take-home	Normal weekly hours	Reason for termination	
1	10/44										
2											
3											
4											
5											

	UNEMPLOYED (SEEKING WORK)							NOT IN LABOR FORCE			
	Date		Unemployment compensation								
			Applied for Benefits received								
	From	To	Yes	No	No. of weeks	Amt. per week	If disqualified or ineligible, give reason	Engaged in own home housework	Student in school	Retired	Other (state)
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											

1/ Last normal "weekly earnings."

(This sheet to be filled out only for women either now employed or seeking work)

II Job experience and plans

Do you expect to continue to work? Yes _____ No _____

Give reasons for your employment plans _____

_____

_____

What was your usual job before the war? _____

_____

What kind of work do you prefer? _____

Give reasons _____

_____

If employed, compare present job or if seeking work compare last job with 1944 job as to duties, skills required, retraining, dilution of job, plant working conditions, etc. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If, since you left the 1944 job, you have refused any jobs offered you, give jobs and reason for refusal. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If, since you left the 1944 job, you have applied for any jobs and been refused, give jobs and reasons. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Comment on problems in finding work. (Age, lack of experience, sex, etc.) _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

III Personal Characteristics

Age:

- ☐ Under 20
- ☐ 20 - 25
- ☐ 25 - 30
- ☐ 30 - 35
- ☐ 35 - 40
- ☐ 40 - 45
- ☐ 45 or over

Race:

- ☐ White
- ☐ Negro
- ☐ Other

Marital status:

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Divorced

Living arrangement:

☐ Apart from your family ☐ With your family

IV Family Responsibilities

How many persons in your family household, including yourself? _____

What is their relationship to you? _____

How many 14 years and over? _____. How many under 14? _____

Who are the members in your family household who are working? (Excluding yourself) _____

Of these, which ones contribute regularly to the household expenses? _____

_____

What is your regular contribution to the household expenses?

_____ Amount _____ Period _____

If there has been a change since last interview (Fall, 1944) in your marital status, living arrangements, number in household, family responsibility, explain. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

V Resident Plans

Did you live in Baltimore before the War (Dec. '41)?

Yes _____ No _____

Do you plan to remain here _____; to return home _____ or move elsewhere _____. If so, where? _____

Agent _____

Date _____

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